

A COLORED DRAWING OF THE MEDEBA MOSAIC MAP OF
PALESTINE IN THE UNITED STATES NATIONAL MU-
SEUM.

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INTRODUCTION.

A colored drawing of the Medeba mosaic map of Palestine was acquired by Mr. S. W. Woodward, of Washington City, from a book dealer in Jerusalem, while on a tour around the world in 1899 in the interest of Christian missions, and by him presented to the United States National Museum. A comparison of the drawing with other reproductions of the original, which have been prepared by competent archeologists and Biblical scholars, shows that, with the exception of a few omissions and transpositions, it affords a fairly adequate view of the original. It has therefore been deemed worth while to describe this highly interesting and important monument for the readers of the publications of the United States National Museum, the more so as a comprehensive and detailed discussion of the subject has hitherto not been published in the English language.

LITERATURE CONSULTED.

C. Raymond Beazley, the Madeba Mosaic Map (*The Geographic Journal*, vol. 17, 1901, London, pp. 516-520). Clermont-Ganneau, *The Madeba Mosaic (Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement (quoted PEFQS), 1897, pp. 213-225; 1901, pp. 235-246)*. A. Jacoby, *Das geographische Mosaik von Madaba (Leipzig, 1905)*. Wilhelm Kubitschek, *Die Mosaikkarte Palästinas (Mittheilungen der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien, vol. 43, 1900, Vienna, pp. 335-380)*. Adolf Schulten, *Die Mosaikkarte von Madaba und ihr Verhältniss zu den ältesten Karten und Beschreibungen des heiligen Landes. (Mit drei Kartenbildern und einer Figurentafel, Berlin, 1900, pp. 121, Abhandl. der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft zu Göttingen, Philol.-Hist. Klasse, new ser., vol. 4, No. 2)*. Eusebius and St. Jerome, *Onomasticon Sacrum (OS)*, edition of Erich Klostermann (Leipzig, 1904). *The Onomasticon of Eusebius (bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, died 340)—its Greek title is: On the names*

of places in the Divine Scriptures—is a kind of glossary of the Biblical place names, explaining and identifying them with contemporary designations, noting the distances between the larger cities, and adding Biblical and historical reminiscences. It was translated into Latin by St. Jerome (331–420). The edition of Klostermann contains the original Greek text and the Latin translation on opposite pages, the former on the left, the latter on the right hand.

THE TOWN OF MEDEBA.

Medeba¹ was originally a town of Moab situated almost directly east of Bethlehem, about five miles south by west from Hebron, at an elevation of 2,040 feet above the sea level. It is frequently mentioned in the Old Testament and played a considerable part in the frontier conflicts of the Israelites, being often taken and retaken. From the Moabites it was wrested by the Amorites (Numbers xxi, 30). After the conquest of Canaan it was allotted to the tribe of Reuben (Joshua xiii, 9, 16). In David's time it was an Ammonite point of defence (I Chronicles xix, 7). In the 9th century B. C. it was seized by Omri, King of Israel, and recaptured by the Moabites.² During the Maccabean period it was the seat of a robber clan who murdered John, the brother of Jonathan, the Jewish prince (I Maccabees ix, 35–37). It was taken by John Hyrcan (135–105 B. C.) and had to be retaken by Alexander Jannaeus (104–79 B. C., Josephus, Antiquities, XIII, 1, 2, 4; XV, 4).

Under the Romans Medeba was incorporated in the province of Arabia, which was established by Trajan (98–117 A. D.), and from the reign of Elagabal (218–222 A. D.) there are extant coins bearing the name of Medeba. During the Byzantine period Medeba seems to have been a flourishing Christian center. It was the seat of a bishop who attended the council of Chalcedon (451 A. D.). It was probably overwhelmed and destroyed either by the Persians under Chosroes II, who at the beginning of the seventh century wrested the entire Christian Syria from the eastern empire, or by the Arabs under Omar, who in 636 completed the conquest of Syria and Palestine. Since then and until the latter part of the eighteenth century it lay in desolation and ruins and forgotten. In 1880 a Christian colony, mostly of Greeks, from Kerak (the Biblical Kir Moab, Isaiah XV, 1), and also some Latin (Roman Catholic) fathers settled there. In erecting the necessary buildings for the new occupation many ancient remains have been brought to light. These include a large pool with solid walls (324 by 309 feet and from 10 to 13 feet deep),

¹ So in the English Bible, in Hebrew, Medeva; on the Moabite stone (9th century, B. C.), Medheba; Josephus, Antiquities, XIII, 9, 1, Medaba; Eusebius (OS, p. 128), Medaba and Medabba; Ptolemy, Geography (2nd century A. D.) IV, 17, 6, Medana; the modern Arabic name is Madaba.

² Compare Moabite stone (a plaster cast facsimile of which is in the National Museum), line 8: "Omri had taken possession of the land of Medeba and (his people) occupied it during his days and half the days of his son, forty years, but Chemosh restored it in my days"; compare also Isaiah XV, 2).

ruins of several churches, remains of a colonnaded street, inscriptions, and mosaic pavements. The character of some of the ruins show that part of the town had pretensions to elegance. The most interesting and noteworthy discovery, both from an archeological and artistic standpoint, was that of the mosaic map of Palestine and of part of Egypt.

DISCOVERY AND CONDITION OF THE MOSAIC MAP.

The first notice of the map came through a monk belonging to the Christian colony settled at Medeba, the find having been uncovered in cleaning the ground for a new church on the lines of an old one. In 1882 this monk wrote concerning the mosaic to Nicodemus the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem, who simply laid the letter aside without paying any attention to the subject. His successor, the Patriarch Gerasimus, found the letter and sent a master mason (with the pretentious title of architect) to examine the mosaic with directions to include it in the new church if found worth while. The "architect" did not find it worth while. And thus in the building of the new church large portions of the mosaic were destroyed. A pillar of the new church was driven through the midst of the mosaic (seen on the plate in rectangular blank at the southern extremity of the Dead Sea). Large parts were covered by cement for the flooring of the new church. In this condition Father Cleopas Koikylides, librarian of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, found the mosaic in 1896 and took steps for its preservation by imbedding the fragments in the floor of the new church. To judge from the remains, the map had previously undergone several restorations. For in several portions a plain mosaic or merely cement fills out destroyed parts. Though rather a primitive and crude way of repairing works of art, it substantially contributed to the preservation of the monument by preventing further crumbling of the remaining parts.

THE BOUNDARIES OF THE MAP.

The following is suggested as mere conjecture. The longest connected fragment reaches an extension of about 35 feet from the spring of Aenon near Salim in the north to the delta of the Nile in the south, while the church of which the mosaic formed the pavement is about 55 feet wide. There would thus remain a lacuna of about 20 feet.¹

It may perhaps be assumed that the region of the Nile Delta, which alone is related to the Biblical narrative because the Israelites sojourned there before they set out to Canaan, represents the original

¹ So Kubitschek (p. 348), who gives the dimensions, respectively, "over 10.5 meters," "17 meters," and "6.5 meters;" Beazley (p. 517), assumes "that the original once occupied a space of about 49 by 20 feet" and that "what remains in all (is) about half of the complete scheme," while Father Cleopas is quoted in the *Biblical World* for 1898 (p. 254), calculating that "the fragments remaining contain about 18 square meters, and the map originally covered 280 square meters."

southern limit of the map. The north side may have reached to the northern confines of Phenicia. It may be assumed that the scale was contracted northward, as that region gave the artist less occasion and opportunity for illustration and comment. On the east side the map may have been bounded by the River Euphrates, which in Biblical tradition is the ideal boundary of Israelite power and expansion (compare Genesis xv, 18; Deuteronomy i, 7; xi, 24; Joshua i, 4, etc.), while on the west side the Mediterranean Sea would be the obvious boundary. Little weight is to be attributed to the assertion of some inhabitants of Medeba that they read the names of Ephesus and Smyrna on the map years ago, so that it contained also Asia Minor (Biblical World, 1898, p. 254).

GENERAL FEATURES OF THE MOSAIC MAP.

The Medeba map is not only the earliest map of Palestine preserved, but also the oldest detailed land map that we possess. It originated in the Greek part of the world, while all other itineraria and maps of Palestine belong to the Latin West and are inscribed in Latin.

Like all the maps which are based on Greco-Roman tradition, the map of Medeba is orientated toward sunrise; that is, the east is placed at the top, the west at the foot, the north at the left, and the south at the right. This orientation "may be designated as the ecclesiastical, as without doubt the east was the determining point of the compass for the medieval geography for the reason that Paradise was there located" (Schulten, p. 112). As the church of Medeba is, according to ancient usage, likewise orientated toward the east, the visitor on entering the church looked in the same direction toward the apse and altar of the church, and at the same time in the eastern direction of the sky, and thus a natural connection between the picture of the map and the reality was established. In agreement with this orientation the explanatory inscriptions are placed on the west line and were to be read from the door side of the church. In like manner the pictorial representations of cities, buildings, mountains, trees, etc., are placed on the basis of the west as the foot line.

It is evident that the artist attempted to combine a view of ancient Canaan with a picture of Palestine of his time. As ancient historians often projected their time into the past, so the maker of the map had before his mental eye the land of the patriarchs not separated from the contemporaneous Palestine. Past and present were blended into one picture. That the artist had Biblical Palestine in mind is shown by the prominence given to the tribes of Israel on the map. The names of the tribes are inscribed on the map in particularly large red letters, are in most cases accompanied by a Biblical reference, chiefly taken from the so-called blessing of Jacob (Genesis, chapter xlix) and blessing of Moses (Deuteronomy, chapter xxxiii) and quoted after

the Greek translation of the Septuagint. Out of the twelve tribes of Israel only six are preserved entire or fragmentary, namely, Dan, Simeon, Judah, Ephraim, Benjamin, and Zebulon. In connection with Dan the apostrophe from the Song of Deborah (Judges v, 17) is quoted, "Why did he remain in ships?" The legend with the name of Simeon is now wanting; Ephraim is associated with the blessing of Jacob upon Joseph; "God blessed thee with the blessing of the earth having everything" (instead of "will bless thee with the blessings of heaven" of the received text, Genesis xlix, 25), and "Blessed of the Lord be his land" (Deuteronomy xxxiii, 13); with Benjamin are the words, "The Lord shall cover him all the day long, and he shall dwell in his territory" (instead of "between his shoulders" of the received text, Deuteronomy xxxiii, 12); of Zebulon now only five letters remain, but the fragment containing the inscription bearing on Zebulon had already been discovered in 1890, without its connection being then recognized, and the inscription copied before it was destroyed. It read: "Zebulon shall dwell at the haven of the sea; and he shall be for an haven of ships; and his border shall be into Sidon" (Genesis xlix, 13).¹ By the side of this legend was the representation of a ship, "which some have tried to make out to be St. Peter's boat," the church being, according to them, dedicated to St. Peter. In this place it is clearly a mere symbolical indication of the sea.² It also appears that the artist wished to put on the map besides Palestine all the places which had been of importance to the Israelites before their entrance into Canaan—the region of Goshen in Egypt which held them in servitude; Raphidin, the desert of sin; and the mountain range of Sinai.

But it is the Palestine of the Byzantine period that is represented on the map. Alongside of the Biblical place names are often given those in use at the time of the composition. Of the about 140 place names preserved on the fragment, about 60 have no reference to the Biblical narrative. Of the latter many were episcopal sees, but a considerable number had no relation either to the Scriptures or the development of Christianity, as far as known, and there are also some otherwise unknown names of towns.

In its general purport the Medeba map is—like the mosaic pictures of sacred history—an illustration of the Bible rather than a work of geography. The artist was more intent on the picturesque details than on geography. Much care is bestowed on the pictures of towns. In those of large cities like Jerusalem, Gaza, etc., an attempt is made to give a view of the principal streets, marked by a colonnade, and to represent some of the prominent buildings. Small places are indicated by an outline of a wall, flanked by towers,

¹ Published by Germer-Durand in *Cosmos*, new series, vol. 18, p. 286.

² Clemont-Sanneau, *PEFQS*, 1897, p. 215.

reminding of the cities figured on Greek coins of the Roman period and on Roman medallions.

Prominent on the map is the water. The Jordan as a comparatively broad stream falls into the Dead Sea. The delta arms of the Nile represent broad stripes. The Dead Sea forms one of the great features of the mosaic. The green surface is agitated by waves or currents represented by thick black streaks. In the Jordan and the Nile (in the latter not seen on the reproduction) fishes disport themselves, while on the Dead Sea, in which fishes can not exist, life is represented by two vessels, one an oar boat with one sailor and two oars, the other and larger one, with a mast having a yard at the top and something like a snake, which is doubtless meant for a sail; besides two oars, and two visible sailors. Intercourse between the two sides of the Jordan is mediated by two bridges.

The mountains of Sinai and of Judah are depicted in various tints to indicate the different strata, and fairly produce the effect desired.

A tendency to the realistic genre appears in the desert scene of a gazelle being pursued by a lion or panther, in the fruit-laden palm trees, especially around Jerico, the "city of palms" (Deuteronomy xxxiv, 3; Judges i, 16; iii, 13; II Chronicles xxviii, 15), and Segor or Zoar.

On a freely conceived decorative illustration, which the mosaic is, in its general purpose, it is not to be expected to find the distances of the places from one another or their relative positions shown with mathematical accuracy. Thus Palestine, and especially Jerusalem, are enlarged out of proportion, in violation of the law of scale, while Egypt is squeezed in on a small space. Still the location of places is on the whole approximately accurate, and the general arrangement is displayed well enough, and the picturesque details show not only the hand of an artist, but also a careful study of the localities.

PLACEMENT OF THE MOSAIC MAP.

The idea of decorating the floor of a church with a map of Palestine in mosaic is certainly unique, and the question arises, What suggested it? Schulten's answer has at least the merit of attractiveness. His theory (p. 113 and following) is that the mosaic was intended to allow the pilgrims who after traversing the Holy Land came to the East-Jordan region (as shown by the *Itineraria*), where Medeba was situated, to repeat and recapitulate the real trip through the land once more in miniature on the map. Schulten suggests that the mosaic may be the votive offering of some wealthy pilgrim in gratitude for the happy accomplishment of his journey in the Holy Land, and that the dedication was lost along with the greater part of the map.

Clermont-Ganneau (*PEFQS*, 1901, p. 243 and following) makes the objection to this explanation that it "doesn't account for the fact

that the pilgrim had chosen, among so many other basilicas where he might have had the work executed—to commence with Jerusalem—just the church of a remote town at the bottom of the land of Moab.”

To this objection may be answered that Medeba seems to have been in the Byzantine period a center of the mosaic art or mosaic technique. Many beautiful mosaics which belonged to churches and monasteries of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries have been uncovered, and may still be seen in hovels, stables, and farmyards. Mosaics of much artistic taste are also found in private houses. According to eye-witnesses almost every house was adorned with this decoration. It has therefore been called “The City of Mosaics.”¹ This would account for such an elaborate piece of work as the map is having been undertaken at Medeba. Clermont-Ganneau’s own theory, advanced by him as “pure conjecture,” is: “It is necessary to consider before all the position of Madeba. It is situated close to Mount Nebo. In its immediate neighborhood Moses received the order to climb the summit of Pisgah, where he was to die, and to contemplate in one supreme vision in all its extent the Land of Promise which was to belong to his people, but where he was not himself allowed to enter” (Deuteronomy xxxii, 48–52; xxxiv, 1–8; compare iii, 27; Numbers xxvii, 12).

“This geographical picture, which was virtually unrolled under the eyes of Moses, was intended to reproduce in the mosaic of the basilica of Madeba—that is, in the neighboring town to this memorable scene.”

“One could thus explain why this map comprises not only the Promised Land, properly so called, but also lower Egypt; that is to say, the scene of the high deeds of Moses and the events preceding the Exodus which took place in this region.”

DATE OF THE MAP.

The art style of the mosaic which indicates the transition from the antique tradition to the conventional schematism of the Byzantine period would comport with the sixth century A. D., more specifically with the age of Justinian (527–565 A. D.). With this date would also agree the neatness of the characters in the inscriptions, which are almost free from ligatures and abbreviations, which was later on in vogue, and the substantially correct orthography.

PLACES AND INSCRIPTIONS ON THE MAP.

The places are illustrated by some picture or vignette representing a town or building (some of which are wanting on the reproduction). In addition to the geographical names there are in some cases added,

¹ Lammens, *Etudes publiées par des pères de la compagnie de Jésus*, I, 73, 721, and I, 74, 44, quoted by Jacoby, *Das geographische Mosaic von Madaba*, p. 21; compare also PEFQS, 1895, p. 208.

as has been stated above (p. 362 and following), biblical quotations or brief references to some historical events. The geographical names are regularly written above the places which they designate; the additional legends are placed below or beside the places to which they refer. The lettering is in black on light ground, in white on dark ground, and in red when the inscription is of special importance.

It is generally agreed that the map is dependent on the Onomasticon of Eusebius. This is evidenced by the fact that the additional legends are literally, or almost so, taken over from the Onomasticon. Kubitschek (*Die Mosaikkarte Palästinas*, pp. 353, 358, etc.) and Clermont Ganneau (*PEFQS*, 1901, p. 236) are even inclined to the assumption that the topographical work of Eusebius had been provided with a map, and that this map was used by the mosaist of Medeba as a copy, or at least as a model.

In the following enumeration of the places preserved on the mosaic there will be first given a transcription of the names and translation of the additional legends as restored by the most competent authorities, followed in case of biblical localities, by the form of the names in the English Bible with the biblical references, and where it is of interest the version of the Onomasticon of Eusebius and St. Jerome will be quoted.

For the sake of a better survey the area of the map is divided into six zones or sections, beginning at the north:

1. FROM THE JORDAN TO THE SEA, NORTH OF THE SECOND BRIDGE OVER THE JORDAN.

Aenon, near Salem.—Eusebius (*OS*, p. 40) adds: "Here John baptized."—Aenon, near to Salim (*John iii*, 23), identified by some with modern Ainun (see *PEFQS*, 1881, p. 47).

Koreous (part of the representation of a building is wanting on the reproduction).—The Korea and Koreae of Josephus (*Antiquities*, XIV, 3, 4; *War*, I, 6, 5; IV, 8, 1), Modern Karawa.

Archelais.—Named after Archelaus, son of Herod, King of Judea, who built it (see Josephus, *Antiquities*, XVII, 13, 1; XVIII, 2, 2). It was later an episcopal see.

To the left of it is *Phasaclis* (restored), erected by Herod in memory of his brother of the same name (see Josephus, *Antiquities*, XVI, 5, 2; XVII, 8, 1; XVIII, 2, 2). Still preserved under the name of Ain el-Fasail.

Eastern frontier of Judea. *Akrabbim*, which now is called Akrabitte.—The mosaist has here apparently confused Akrabatta, the main place of the mountain district of Akrabattene (Josephus, *War*, II, 20, 4; IV, 9, 4; 9, 9), modern Akraha, which he rightly locates here in the north, with Akrabim, in the extreme south of Judea (*Numbers*

xxxiv, 4; Joshua xv, 3; Judges i, 36; see Josephus, Antiquities, XII, 8, 1).¹

Neapolis—modern Nablus, and Sychem or Sikima in the region of Salem, which Jacob gave to Joseph, and Sychar, where is the well of Jacob.—These three places are usually identified with one another. The mosaist has correctly separated them. For Neapolis was not exactly situated on the site of Shechem, and Sychar is one mile east of Shechem.² For the expression, "Sychem in the region of Salem" see Genesis xxxiii, 18. There is at present east of Nablus a village called Salim (Jacoby, *Das geographische Mosaic von Madaba*, p. 81). Sychar and the well of Jacob are mentioned in John iv, 5, in the story of the conversation of Jesus with the Samaritan woman. There is still at present a place named Askar near Nablus which is usually identified with Sychar of the Gospel (Jacoby, p. 82, see also Clermont-Ganneau, PEFQS, 1901, p. 237).

To the right of Neapolis is the picture of a building with a round tower and over it the inscription *Sanctuary of the Holy Elisa*.—It represents the sanctuary erected on the site of the spring whose bitter waters the prophet Elisha rendered sweet, as related in II Kings ii, 19–22. Underneath.

Tour Gobel and down to the left, *Tour Garizin*—The mountains Ebal and Gerizim from which the curses and blessings respectively were pronounced, while half of the tribes stood on one mount and half on the other (Deuteronomy xi, 29; xxvii, 13; Joshua viii, 33.) On the original, these mountains are also represented near Jericho under the names of Gebal and Garizeini. This double placing of the mountain pair is also found in Eusebius (OS, p. 64). There were two traditions as regards the site of the two mountains. The Samaritans and many Arabian geographers place them near Neapolis, while Eusebius, (OS) located them in the neighborhood of Jericho and Gilgal. The mosaic takes account of both traditions and apparently giving preference to the probably more correct one of the Samaritans.

Below is a remnant of the name of *Ephraim* and the blessing relating to Joseph and Ephraim which has been already quoted (p. 363).

On detached fragments, next to the margin, are the five letters of the legend connected with the tribe of *Zebulon* (Za. . . Kes) for which see above (p. 363), and *Agbar*—Lagrange would identify it with Akhabara mentioned in Josephus, War II, 20, 6 and Joseph, Life, 37, as a town in Upper Galilee, while Clermont-Ganneau (PEFOS, 1901, p. 240) sees in it the town of Gabarah or Gabaroth of Josephus, Life 10, 25, 45 and 47, considering the A as prosthetic.

¹ Schulten, *Die Mosaikkarte von Madaba*, p. 8; compare E. Schuerer, *Geschichte des juedischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, ed. 2, Leipzig, 1886, vol. 11, p. 138, n. 437.

² See George Adam Smith, *The historical geography of the Holy Land*, London, 1904, pp. 367–372; PEFQS, 1878, p. 114.

2. BETWEEN THE SECOND BRIDGE OF THE JORDAN AND JERUSALEM.

Galgala, which is also called the Twelve stones.—Gilgal, where the Israelites erected twelve stones in commemoration of their passage of the Jordan (Joshua iv, 20). Eusebins (OS, p. 66) adds: "And to the present day is shown a desert place two (Roman) miles from Jericho, which is held by the people in veneration." Modern Tel Jeljul.

Jericho.—Illustrated by extensive building and surrounding palm trees (Deuteronomy xxxiv, 3).

Louza, which is also called Bethel.—Genesis xxviii, 19; xxxvi, 6.—Modern Beitin.

Gophna.—Ophni, Joshua xviii, 24, see Josephus, War, 1, 11, 2; V, 2, 1, etc. It is identified with Jufna, a village situated between Jerusalem and Nablus.

Gabaon.—Gibeon, Joshua ix and x; later place of sanctuary, I Kings iii, 4; I Chronicles xvi, 39; Modern El-Jib.

Rama.—Several places in the mountain districts of Palestine bear the name of Ramah, which means "height." The present Ramah is mentioned together with Gibeon in Joshua xviii, 25, as being north of Jerusalem and belonging to the tribe of Benjamin. Near it lay the grave of Rachel, according to Jeremiah xxxi, 15, who represents this ancestor as appearing on her grave and uttering a lamentation for the exile of her children. In Matthew ii, 18, this passage is quoted in connection with the slaughtering of the children caused by Herod. The mosaist places another Ramah near Bethlehem and following Matthew erroneously quotes from Matthew and Jeremiah (as also Eusebius, OS, p. 148) the words: "A voice was heard in Ramah," but in this quotation doubtless the Ramah near Bethel is meant.—Identified with El-Ram, about five miles north from Jerusalem.

Remmon.—Several places with the name Rimmon occur in the Old Testament; here is probably meant the Rimmon of Judges xx, 45.—Identified with modern Rammon, east from Bethel (on the drawing it is incorrectly placed northwest of Bethel).

Armathem or Arimathe.—Arimathaea, Matthew xxvii, 57; Mark xv, 43; Luke xxiii, 51; John xix, 38.—Identified with Beit Rima.

Theraspis.—Identified by Clermont-Ganneau (PEFQS, 1897, p. 218) with the ruins of Deir Asfin.

Betomelgezis.—Clermont-Ganneau (PEFQS, 1897, p. 218), suggests the Bethmelchi or Bethmelchis of the Crusaders in the neighborhood of Mejdol Yaba.

Adiacim (or Adiathim), now Aditha.—Jacoby (p. 71) suggests the modern El Haditha near Diospolis and refers to I Maccabees xii, 38; xiii, 13; Josephus, War, IV, 9, 1.

3. JERUSALEM AND SURROUNDING REGION.

Jerusalem.—Above the city plan is read in large red characters, "Holy city Jerusalem." For the various parts of the city itself are used green, red, yellow, black, and white. Contrary to the later medieval plans of Jerusalem, which have a circular outline (perhaps influenced by the idea that Jerusalem was the center of the world), divided into four quarters by two streets crossing one another at right angles, the plan of the city on the mosaic is oval or elliptical, with the streets running parallel to one another. The southeast corner is destroyed on the mosaic. The city is surrounded by a wall, which on the east side shows an irregular line of jutting-out towers and buildings. A series of gates provides for the intercourse of the city with the outside.

Entering the city from the north (left) side there is a gate flanked by two towers leading to a semicircular space on which is a column. It corresponds to the modern Damascus Gate, which still bears the name of "gate of the column (Bab el-amud)." From this gate issue two streets, lined on either side with columns. One of the streets runs in a straight line almost through the entire length of the city; the other makes about midway a bend eastward, crossing a lesser artery which enters from the eastern gate, and thence proceeds due south, parallel to the main street. The western colonnade of the main street is broken by steps leading through three portals to a great church building which abuts on the west wall. It is generally agreed that it represents the church of the Holy Sepulchre built by Constantine and Helene and dedicated in 336 (Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, III, 37). It consists of a basilica, the *Martyrium*, on the alleged site of Golgotha, and a rotunda in the middle of which was the tomb of Jesus, called the *Anastasis* (place of the resurrection). The basilica is at the east and the rotunda at the west. At the north-east extremity of the city is another church, perhaps that of the Nativity of the Virgin (now St. Anne). The gate in about the middle of the east side corresponds to the present St. Stephen's Gate (Bab Sitti Mariam) and the street issuing from it westward would be the Via Dolorosa of tradition. South from it is another gate—the Golden Gate (Bab el-Daheriyeh). The large building at the south-west, at the end of the main street, may represent the Church of Holy Zion, also known as the church of the Last Supper (*Caenaculum*). On the west side one gate can be discerned, which would answer to the present Jaffa Gate (Bab el-Khalil).

It may be assumed that the picture of Jerusalem on the mosaic, which bears evidence of being executed with great care, preserves a good summary of the city's main features in the time of Justinian.

Above, near the Jordan: *Bethabara*, of the Holy John of the baptism.—Supply: Sanctuary, or church of ———. But even so the construction is curious and shows that the mosaist's knowledge of Greek was not very strong. Eusebius (O S, p. 58) has "B——, where John was baptizing," and adds: "The place is still shown, where many of the brethren (i. e., Christians) like to be bathed."—It refers to the narrative in John i, 28, where some scholars read (after some old manuscripts) *Bethania* instead of *Bethabara*.¹

Alon Atath, which is now called *Bethagla*.—Eusebius (OS, p. 8) has: "Alon Atad, which is across the Jordan. Here they mourned Jacob. The place is three (Roman) miles distant from Jericho and about two (Roman) miles from the Jordan, and is now called *Bethagla*, which means circuit, because here the mourners made a circumambulation around Jacob."—It refers to the narrative in Genesis l, 10. (Where the English Version has, "threshing-floor of Atad"). Both Eusebius and the mosaist following him, erroneously identify the mourning station of Jacob with *Beth-Hogla* (Joshua xv, 6). The former was probably east of the Jordan, while the latter is on the west bank of the Jordan, identical with modern *Ain* (or *Kasr*) *Hajla*, between Jericho and the Jordan, south of *Gilgal*.

Ephron or *Ephraia*.—The original has the additional legend: "Thither went the Lord," and Eusebius (OS p. 90), adds: "with his disciples."—John xi, 54, compare II Chronicles xiii, 19.

To the right of the last-named place, *Ailamon*, here the sun stood still by (the son) of *Naue* (*Nun*).—Refers to the episode of Joshua x, 12 (where the Septuagint transcribes *Ajalon* by *Ailon*).—Eusebius (OS, p. 18), more correctly—"the sun stood still in answer to the prayer of Joshua," and adds: "Still at present a village called *Ailon*, three (Roman) miles east of *Bethel*, near *Gabaata* and *Rama*, the cities of *Saul*."

To the north of Jerusalem and close to the periphery of the city is the name of *Benjamin* and the prophecy bearing on it, which was referred to previously (p. 363). Further down: The Fourth, and Nine, which are interpreted to refer to Roman military stations or garrisons. Underneath to the south is,

Bethhoron.—Joshua x, 10; xvi, 3, 5.—Represented to-day by *Beit Ur el-Foka* and *Beit Ur el-Tahta*, near it.

Erouta.—Clermont-Ganneau (PEFQS, 1897, p. 220 and 1901, p. 238), identifies it with *Kefr Rut* near *Beit Ur el-Tahta*, to the west-northwest; *Schulten* (p. 94), sees in it *Kirjath-Jearim*, Joshua ix, 17; xv, 9, 60, etc., which Eusebius (OS, p. 114) places at the ninth milestone from Jerusalem towards *Diospolis* or *Lydda*. This would

¹ See G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, p. 496, n. 542, PEFQS, 1875, p. 72; 1873, p. 120; 1881, p. 46.

suit the position of Karyet el-Enab, which is about three hours from Lydda. Below,

Modeeim, now *Moditha*, whence came the Maccabeans.—Modern el-Medieh, Underneath,

Lod, which is *Lydea* and also *Diospolis*.—The Biblical Lydda or Lod, Ezra ii, 33; Nehemiah vii, 37; Acts ix, 32. It was an episcopal see and the place of St. George. To the right,

Thamna, here Judah shore his sheep.—The Biblical Timnah, Genesis, xxxviii, 12, Joshua xv, 57, Underneath,

Anob, which is now Betoannaba.—Anab, Joshua xi, 21, xv, 50, Modern Annabe.

4. BETWEEN JERUSALEM AND THE DEAD SEA.

Across (east of) the Jordan below the scene of the gazelle chased by a panther or lion,

Aenon, where now is Sapsaphas.—As in the case of the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim (see above, p. 367) so, it seems, there also was current a double tradition as regards the site of Aenon where John baptized, the one placing it (correctly) near Salim (see above, p. 366), the other near Bethabara, and the mosaist took account of both traditions. To the right,

Hot spring of Callirhoe.—Mentioned in Pliny's Natural History, V, 16, 72, Josephus, War, I, 335. Identified with modern Hammam ez-Zarka Main. West of the Jordan,

Thekoue.—Biblical Tekoa, Birthplace of the prophet Amos, II Samuel xiv, 2; Amos i, 1, etc.

Bethlehem.—Ephratha.—On the Mosaic as well as in the Onomasticon (pp. 45, 82, and 172) Bethlehem and Ephrathah are noted as two separated localities, while usually they are identified and Ephrathah is considered as cognomen of Bethlehem. It may be that Ephrathah was the name of the whole district in which Bethlehem lay; compare Genesis xxxv, 19; Micah v, 2. Modern Bit Lahm.

Rama . . . See p. 368.

Akl Damma, Compare Matthew xxvii, 8.

Bethhoron.—Wrongly placed on the reproduction; see p. 370.

Nikopolis.—A later name of Emmaus, Luke xxiv, 13; compare I Maccabees, ix, 50; Josephus, Antiquities, XIII, 1, 3. It is still preserved under the name of Amwas.

Gedour, which is also called *Gidritha*.—The site would suit the Biblical Gezer, while the name suggests Gedor, Joshua xv, 58, modern Jedur, six miles north from Hebron. Eusebius (OS, p. 68) registers the place under Gedour and Gedrous and states that it was situated ten (Roman) miles from Diospolis (Lydda).

Enetaba.—Identified by Clermont-Ganneau (PEFQS, 1897, p. 221) with En Tab in the Talmud.

Geth, which is also called *Gitta*, one of the five capital cities.—Biblical Gath, one of the five royal or princely cities of the Philistines, Joshua xiii, 3; I Samuel vi, 17, etc.

Iabnel, which is also called *Iamnia*.—*Jabneel*, Joshua xv, 11; *Jabneh*, II Chronicles xxvi, 6. Below is,

Safrea.—So read by Clermont-Ganneau (PEFQS, 1901, p. 238) and identified by him with modern Safiriych. To the right is, (*Sanctuary*) of the holy *Jona*.—Otherwise unknown.

5. THE SURROUNDINGS OF THE DEAD SEA.

Khara Moba.—Biblical Kir Moab, Isaiah xv, 1, modern Kerak, about ten miles from the southeast corner of the Dead Sea. It was an episcopal see.¹

Betomarsca which is also called *Maioumas*.—Clermont-Ganneau (PEFQS, 1901, p. 239): "Büchler (*Revue des Etudes Juives*, 1901, p. 125) has just demonstrated . . . that Betomarsca is no other than the transcription of Beit Marzeah (comp. Jeremiah xvi, 5),² that Marzeah, or Marzeihu, means, like Maioumas, a great Syrian feast of licentious nature, and that this double denomination must apply in this case on the map to the place where popular tradition located the famous scene of the fornication of Isracl, when they allowed themselves to be initiated by the beautiful daughters of Moab into the impure rites of Bael Peor"³

Aia.—Jacoby (p. 93) would see it in Ai of Jeremiah xlix, 3, situated not far from Heshbon; Clermont-Ganneau (PEFQS, 1897, p. 220) identifies it with the Aie of Eusebius (OS, p. 10), which the latter places to the east of Areopolis-Rabbath Moab.

Tharais.—Clermont-Ganneau (PEFQS, 1897, p. 220) suggests modern Khurbet Talha, between Kerak and the Dead Sea.

Barou.—So is the *arou* on the original read and referred to St. Jerome (OS p, 44), where he says: "There is to the present day an important place near Baaru in Arabia where hot water bubbles up from the ground, etc."; compare also Josephus, War, VII, 6, 3, where a place by the name of Baaras is mentioned.

Dead Sea.—The superscription reads: Salt Sea (see Numbers xxxiv, 3, 12, etc.); Asphalt sea (Josephus, Antiquities, I, 9, 1), and Dead Sea. West of the Dead Sea is,

Bethsoura Sanctuary of the holy Philip. Here it is said the Kendeke ennuch was baptized.—Refers to the story of Acts viii, 26 and following. The mosaist made of the queen Kandake a people. Bethzur of Joshua xv, 58.

¹ Compare Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, 1901, p. 246.

² In the English Bible, rendered "house of mourning."

³ Compare Numbers, chapter xxv.

The oak which is also called the *terebinth of Mamre*.—Genesis xiii, 18. Eusebins (OS, p. 76) adds, "To the present is the terebinth shown," and St. Jerome (OS., p. 77) says that it was pointed out in his infancy and down to the reign of Constantius (337–361). According to Sozomen, Hist. Eccl., ii, 4, 1–2, the place was sacred to Christians because the Son of God appeared there with two angels to Abraham (Genesis xviii, 1–2).

Sokhoh.—Socoh, Joshua xv, 35, etc.

Saphitha.—Clermont-Ganneau (PEFQS, 1897, p. 222) identifies it with modern Tell es-Safie.

Beth Zakhar.—A fortress Beth-Zacharia is mentioned in I Maccabees VI, 32, compare Josephus, Antiquities, XII, 9, 4; War I, 1, 5.

Sanctuary of the holy Zecharia.—Probably meant the tomb of the prophet Zachariah. But early the prophet was confounded with the father of John the Baptist, Luke i, 5, and with both was confounded the Zechariah of Matthew xxiii, 35.

Morasthi, whence came the prophet Micah.—Mareshah, Micah i, 1, 15; Jeremiah xxvi, 18.

Geth which is now called *Akkaron*.—*Ekron*, one of the five cities of the Philistines, I Samuel vi, 17, etc. The mosaist confounded it with Gath. To the south is,

Asdod, and farther down, *Azotos* on the sea.—Both refer to the Philistine city of Asdod, I Samuel vi, 17, etc. There were distinguished two Asdods, one on the sea, the other inland. Both cities, which were about one hour distant from one another, were connected by several small towns (Jacoby, p. 57).

Askalon, and to the right, *Gaza*.—Both likewise cities of the Philistine Pentapolis, I Samuel vi, 17, etc.

6. SOUTH OF THE DEAD SEA AND EGYPT.

On top is the picture of a shrine, but the name of the saint whose name it bore has dropped out.

Balak, which is also called *Sogor* and *Zoora*.—*Zoar*, Genesis, xiii, 10; xix, 22, etc.

Bersabee, which is now called *Berosabba*. So far extend the borders of Judea southward, from Dan to Paneas which limits it in the north.—Beer-sheba, Genesis xxi, 31; xxvi, 23; Joshua xv, 28, etc. Modern Bir es-Saba. From Dan to Beer-sheba was measured the extreme length of Palestine.

Gerara, once a royal city of the Philistines and border of the Canaanites toward the south. Here was the Geraritic Grove.—Gerar as royal seat of the Philistines is mentioned, Genesis xx, 2; xxvi, 1. It is identified with modern Umm-Jerar, near Gaza (See Genesis x, 19), or (less probably) with Wadi Gerur.

Oga.—Jacoby (p. 52) reads Adroga and refers to Reland, *Palaestina*, p. 222 and 228.

Asalea.—Jacoby (p. 52) refers to Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* iii, 14.

Sobila.—Unknown.

Bethagideca.—Unknown.

Edrain.—Clermont-Ganneau (*PEFQS*, 1897, p. 223); "Perhaps Khurbet el-Aar, eight kilometers south-southeast of Gaza"; Jacoby (p. 52) identifies it with Eder, *Joshua* xv, 21.

Thauatha.—Jacoby (p. 53) refers to Thabatha in Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* iii, 14.

Sanctuary of St. Victor.—A St. Victor 1, Pope from 189 to 198 or 199, is mentioned in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 15, p. 418.

Prasidin.—Is generally taken to be Latin *praesidium*; that is, military station or garrison.

Thamara.—Eusebius (*OS*, p. 8) has: "Asan Thamar (i. e., Hazezon Tamar, *Genesis* xiv, 7). There dwelt the Amorites whom Chedorlaomer cut down. It is said that Thamar is a day's journey from Mampsis on the road from Hebron to Jerusalem, where at present a garrison is located."

Mod.—Unknown.

Mampsis.—See above under Thamara.

Arad, whence are the Aradites.—Arad was a southern Canaanitish town, *Joshua* xii, 14, etc., modern Tell Arad, southeast of Hebron, while the Aradites were the inhabitants of Arvad, *Genesis* x, 18. *Ezekiel* xxvii, 8, 11, modern Ruwad. The mosaist confounded them with the inhabitants of Arad.

Jethor, which is also called *Jethera*.—Jattir, *Joshua* xv, 48; modern Attir.

Orda.—Clermont-Ganneau (*PEFQS*, 1897, p. 223): "The position would suit Khurbet Umm Adra, transposing the d and r."

Seana.—Clermont-Ganneau (*PEFQS*, 1897, p. 223) identifies it with Kh. Sihan, about nine kilometers southeast of Gaza.

Madebena, which is now called *Menois*.—Madmenah, *Isaiah* X, 31.

Sykomazon.—Was an episcopal see.

Ostrakine.—Frequently mentioned (see *Josephus*, *War*, IV, 11, 5; *Pliny*, *Natur-Hist.*, V, 14). According to a legend the prophet Habakkuk fled thither before Nebucadnezar from Jerusalem. Tradition also located there the tomb of the Apostle Simon, who carried the Gospel as far as Egypt.

Rhinokoroura.—The name occurs in the Greek translation of the Septuagint to *Isaiah* xxvii, 12; see Eusebius and St. Jerome (*OS*, p. 148-9). *Pliny*, *Natur. Hist.*, V, 14, mentions it under the name of Rhinocolura. It was a border city between Syria and Egypt and seat of a bishop. Underneath are,

Borders of Egypt and Palestine—Raphidim.—Here Israel fought Amalek, Exodus xvii, 8-14.

Asemona, a city in the desert, dividing Egypt and the passage to the sea.—Hashmonah, one of the camping stations of the Israelites in the desert, Numbers xxxiii, 29.

Elousa.—Mentioned in Ptolemy, Geography (second century A. D.) V, 16, and Stephen of Byzanz, Ethnica (sixth century A. D.), 119, 19. Modern Halasa. Formerly seat of bishop.

Photis.—Clermont-Ganneau (PEFQS, 1897, p. 223) identifies it with Khurbet Futeis or Fetis, situated half way between Gaza and Beer-sheba.

Desert, here Israel . . . the brazen serpent.—Refers to the narrative in Numbers xxi, 8 and following.

Desert of sin, here the manna and the quails were sent, Exodus xvii and Numbers xi, 31.

Pelonsin.—Pelusium (the inscription to the picture is wanting in the reproduction). On the mosaic it is wrongly placed on the western bank of the Pelusian Nile arm instead of on the east side. The city is frequently mentioned elsewhere and was an episcopal see.

Nikios.—Was likewise seat of bishop.

Athribis.—Mentioned in Ptolemy, IV, 5, 51, and Stephen of Byzanz, 17, 3.

Sethroites.—Mentioned in Ptolemy, IV, 5, 53. It was the name of an Egyptian Nome (province), with Heracleapolis as capital.

Tanis.—The Biblical Zoan, Numbers xiii, 22, etc. Modern San. According to a legend, based on Psalms lxxviii, 12 and 43; Isaiah xix, 11 and 13, it was the birthplace of Moses.

Thmois.—Mentioned in Stephen of Byzanz, 139, 1, etc.

Thennesos.—Was an episcopal see.

Xois.—Frequently mentioned elsewhere. On the mosaic the sites of Xoïs and Sais (which is wanting in the reproduction) are transposed.

Paulinos.—Unknown.

Hermoupolis.—Modern Damanhur.

Khortaso.—Only mentioned in Stephen of Byzanz, 311, 11.

Kainoupolis.—Unknown.

APPENDIX. THE INSCRIPTIONS ON THE DRAWING.

The inscriptions seen in the left lower corner and the right upper corner of the drawing have no connection with the mosaic map, but were found on the mosaic floor of another church in Medeba over which houses have been built, and have perhaps been joined to the map for the sake of preservation. They read:

1. In the round vignette on the left side: "In gazing upon the Virgin Mary, Mother of God, and upon Him whom she has borne,

Christ the Sovereign King, only Son of the only God, be thou pure in mind and flesh and deeds, in order that thou mayest by thy pure prayers (help) the mortal people."

2. In the rectangular vignette: "The very beautiful mosaic work of this sanctuary, and of the holy house of the altogether pure Sovereign Mother of God (has been made) by the care and zeal of this town of Madeba for the salvation and the reward of the benefactors, dead and (living) of this sanctuary. Amen, Lord! It was accomplished by the aid of God in the month of February of the year 674 induction 5." As it is not known after what era the years were reckoned, the date can not be determined. If the Seleucidan era was intended, the year 674 would correspond to 362 or 363 A. D.

3. To the right in one line: "Holy Mary help Menas IV." Perhaps referring to some bishop or another prominent man who was buried in the church.¹

4. The three vignettes on the upper right corner: "Christ God reared this house under the holy Sergius, bishop of the same by the zeal of the presbyter Sergius, son of the Holy Aelianus in the year. * * * " ²

¹ See PEFQS, 1895, pp. 208-210; also Kubitschek, p. 368. *Nevue Biblique*, vol. 7, 1898, pp. 422, 643.

² For a discussion of the date, see Clermont-Ganneau, PEFQS, 1897, p. 224.